UNITY

" HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXVIII. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1912. NUMBER 26.

DARK IS THE PILOT-HOUSE

Ferrried across the bay at night,
I cannot see who stands
Before the wheel and guides aright
Our course 'twixt sundered strands,—
'Twixt traffickings of sister prows:
Dark is the Pilot-House.

Our earth-ship which hath seas aboard,
And soul more vast than seas,
Think you it saileth space unshored,
Plunged forward rudderless?
When clashed night's million starry prows?
Dark is the Pilot-house.

—*Gottfried Holt.*

Hail to the youthful Bishop Vincent, whose eightieth birthday was celebrated last week by an innumerable host who have been led by him into ways of culture and paths of usefulness. Not since the days of Father Taylor has the Methodist church produced a parson who so over-flowed the Methodist boundaries as this "Father of the Chautauqua movement." We heartily echo the words of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*: "Good wishes flow to him from a world-wide constituency . . . The aim and end of his fruitful and beneficent life has been to glorify God by a worthy development of man's whole nature."

"Is the Game Worth the Candle?" is the title of a gruesome article by Barney Oldfield in this week's number of *Popular Mechanics*. It is a discussion of the speed-racing contests with the automobile. The illustrations are blood-curdling for they show machines in all stages of wreck, many of them meaning the wreck of human lives as well. We are told that only five deaths among bull-fighters have occurred in as many years, but that there were twenty-nine fatal race accidents in the United States during the year ending last September. Since 1904 more than two hundred drivers and mechanics have been killed in racing accidents. The death toll of the 1910 Vanderbilt Cup Race was seven dead and sixteen injured. We are also assured that the two hundred who have died are but a small proportion of the hundreds who have suffered broken bones in order that the spectator may get an extra thrill. It is comforting to be assured that the manufacturers have about come to the conclusion that the business is not profitable. The article concludes with the deliberate statement that automobiling "has sunk to the rank of prize fighting without any of pugilism's redeeming virtues. It has ceased to be racing, it is run for money alone, its profits are blood money."

There is a certain air of reality in the news item, clipped from a Boston paper, which we would be glad to disbelieve. It tells that a certain Prince, son of one of the largest and wisest citizens of Baroda, India, has been compelled to leave Harvard University because of the high cost of living. His weekly allowance of two hundred and fifty dollars proved "woefully inadequate," according to the news item, and he has gone home to solicit a further allowance from his father, leaving various unpaid bills behind him. Is it true that thirteen thousand dollars a year is too meager a standard for a wealthy young man in Harvard College? The friends of University education have been seriously disturbed by the arraignment of the late lamented R. T. Crane concerning the immorality of University students. Waiving the question of morality, we wish some competent and impartial authority would compile for us in a clear, reliable fashion the "cost of living" of the wealthy students at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, etc. Colleges and universities are very careful to set forth the *minimum* cost of a university course, they tell us for how small an amount young men do go through college. Perhaps the whole story ought to be told and told fully and frankly, for the *maximum* sum would serve as a warning, as the *minimum* sum serves as an encouragement. It is not true that a young man has a right to spend unlimited amounts of money even if his father is willing to furnish him the same, for extravagance is a disease and its microbes are contagious.

We are glad to reprint in another column the Hon. William Kent's article on "Johnson of California," published in the *Outlook* of February 10. Here our readers will find not only the story of a live man told in living fashion, but incidentally a clear statement of the real issues now before the American people. In describing the career and position of Governor Johnson, Mr. Kent has also stated the arguments for the Initiative, the Referendum, the Recall and the short Ballot and their bearings upon the national perplexities of today, viz: how to break the power of the "boss" and how to free the country from

the tyranny of party rule. This last problem is not sufficiently thought out to the clear, even in this article, for there seems to be still left in the mind of Governor Johnson and his friends the thought that somehow they are Republicans, and that the Republican party is an entity that exists outside of and independent of the politicians who still try to conjure by the word and to conquer by virtue of its traditions, while the fact remains that there are no two words more empty of clear thought, decisive meaning and ethical import in the vocabulary of sound politics in the United States today than the words "Democrat" and "Republican." It is pathetic to think of LaFollette, Woodrow Wilson, Senator Borah and William Kent on the one side and W. J. Bryan and Senator Newlands on the other, arrayed in what are assumed to be hostile camps, working at cross purposes, because LaFollette, Borah and Kent are supposed to fight under the Republican banner and owe allegiance to it, and the others, standing for the same contentions, fighting for the same reforms, are assumed to be Democrats, while Gorman and Taft are rival candidates for the presidency on the same platform, however concealed, viz., the "stand-pat" attitude that opposes all innovations which would break the power of capitalistic combines, boss rule and party discipline.

"Premature Specialism" is the suggestive title of an article in the *Literary Digest* of February 24. The article has special reference to the tendency among young medics who "after a few months experience in European clinics confidently essay to treat our noses, eyes or throats." But the title has a much wider significance. There is a large popular fallacy abroad that the unemployed boys and girls are unemployed chiefly because they have no specialized aptitude. Hence the clamor for more and still more, particularly technical, training. Just now the Chicago air, especially in the region of the Woman's clubs, is vibrant with the agitation for a vocational school for the unemployed girls between fourteen and sixteen. What if a profound investigation were to discover that the helplessness of these girls rests in a psychological rather than a physical defect of training? Given the girl, a love of thought, and, above all, the single-mindedness that goes with a kindly heart and one ready to serve, perhaps the fingers will promptly acquire aptitude. Perhaps, after all, what we want is not more *technical* training, but more training, more character building. Let us not forget in these Centennial days the contribution of Charles Dickens to pedagogy. Says Professor Hughes of Toronto, in his very valuable book on "Dickens as an Educator,"

> "In the twenty-eight schools described in Dickens' writings he reveals nearly every form of bad training resulting from ignorance, selfishness, indifference, unwise zeal, unphilosophic philosophy and unchristian theology. . . . . He demanded a free, real, joyous childhood, rich in all a child's better experiences and interests."

If a part of the money and talents and time now spent in trying to train the *hands* of the children of the poor were spent in trying to instill higher ideals, teaching them love, and giving them a purpose to overcome their limitations and to patiently endure those that may not be overcome, perhaps the unemployed boys and girls who so soon learn to love idleness better than work would become less numerous. The children of the poor, quite as much as the children of the rich, need to profit by the pedagogy of the [illegible] who said, "Give me a few of the luxuries of life and I will do without the necessities."

The Social Center idea as a Twentieth Century interpretation of the church, is growing. When, some eighteen years ago, All Souls Church, Chicago, began its campaign for the hundred thousand dollars that would build the Abraham Lincoln Centre, it seemed a wild dream, a dangerous venture, and when, six years ago, it was dedicated, it seemed to occupy a solitary position, but now the children of the Abraham Lincoln Centre idea are beginning to be catalogued. The Tamalpais Center was dedicated over two years ago. The "Sinai Center" in Chicago is being dedicated this week. The "Plymouth Center" at Oakland, California, was dedicated on the 23rd instant. Three of these centers have grown around a church. The Tamalpais Center is independent of any religious affiliations, though this fact is perhaps proving more of a hindrance than a help. The Plymouth Center of Oakland is the product of the Congregational Church of that name, whose pastor has made a close study of the Lincoln Centre. Rev. Albert W. Palmer, writing to UNITY's editor says:

> Less than a year ago the people of our community, four hundred and eighty-seven of them, contributed nearly thirty thousand dollars for the erection of this building, and its dedication is an event in the life of the community and in the social demands of church work in this part of the country.

In response to a request for a greeting to be read at its dedication the following night letter was sent, which may have some news interest to the readers of UNITY.

> The Abraham Lincoln Centre Board in Annual Meeting assembled send cordial greeting to the Plymouth Center of Oakland, California. We confidently predict for you great joy and an increasing usefulness in your new building. To you will gravitate all the legitimate needs of the community and from you will radiate all available helps. We clasp your hands across the distance.

The elevation and ground plan of Plymouth Center are before us, and offer the plain, unadorned, practical elevation that befits its work. Here is provision for

athletic, kindergarten, club and other activities. The announcement says that the building is to be devoted to character-building. The circular sets forth its belief that a church which provides for the needs of the young people in the neighborhood, that offers "something better than the saloon in the way of a center of social life" by means of reading rooms, game rooms and facilities for clubs, lectures and public meetings, will awaken the interest and respect of many who are indifferent to conventional church work. It declares the belief that "people of all creeds and opinions will want to help provide such a force for the guidance and safeguarding of the young life of the community." This is the appeal that brought results in Oakland and we believe that such an appeal worthily backed will bring results in any thriving city throughout our land.

Do You Believe

Something better than the saloon?
Taking care of boys and girls?
In { The value of clean young manhood?
Wholesome athletic and social life?
Good moral and religious instruction?
Brotherhood and neighborliness? }
A Better City—especially this part of it?

A Prophet of the Country-side

Simon B. Loomis, the hero of countless holy wars, the non-official and largely unpaid shepherd of the un-folded sheep in the country-side of which the little sand-burred village of Lone Rock, Wisconsin, may be taken as a center, has gone to his rest in the fullness of his more than eighty years.

More than a quarter of a century ago he had a broken career as Unitarian pastor over the groups of liberals that were called to wait upon his ministry in Monmouth, Illinois, Janesville, Monroe, and Richland Center in Wisconsin. Before he came to Wisconsin,—it must be nearly half a century ago,—he had a brief though notable career as a Rider on the Methodist Circuit in his native state of New York. But as he used to love to say, he "excommunicated the Methodist Church early in life because of the halting accents in its enunciation of the Gospel of liberty."

But Elder Loomis's early training was perhaps too defective, his sympathies too diffusive and his thought too aggressive and independent to fit effectively into the routine work of any denomination or of a city parish and the exacting demands of a city pulpit, however liberal. So he found his vocation, for which he was ordained by nature and by conviction, in being a rural leader of liberal ideas and ideals. He was a rustic Theodore Parker, who was never so happy as when assailing a wrong or espousing an unpopular cause. In his youth he was wrapped in a mantle of prophecy that kept him strong and inspiring throughout a long and tireless life. The cause of the slave, the cause of temperance, and the cause of woman's suffrage, were the inspirations that he brought with him from his beloved "York State." And he was insistent in season and out of season in declaring this gospel, whether the people of Sauk, Richland and Iowa Counties would listen or not.

But the fountain of his inspiration did not run out; in later years he kept up with the radical thinkers on all lines and was ahead of them; the cause of the working man was ever his, the ethical contentions of the "Populists," Greenbackers, Socialists or what not. None of these words scared him and, quite as much to his credit, it should be said, none of these words confined him. "Father Loomis" would not stay put anywhere, but whenever anything was doing on progressive lines within thirty miles of this farmer preacher's home, you might confidently expect to find him on hand, and, no matter how crowded the program, concentrated the purpose, or conservative the spirit, "Father Loomis" would be called for soon or late, and generally he would reach a little deeper into the hearts of the company and soar a little higher into the realm of ideals than any of the better prepared orators of the occasion.

At the "Annual Grove Meetings" at Tower Hill and at the earlier Grange meetings, the Temperance rallies and Old Soldiers' reunions in "Loomis's Grove," this man's voice rang clear and sound and sensible, his intensity relieved by a homely humor and controlled by the practical necessities that called him home "in time to milk the cows." For this was his other calling. He was an original, enthusiastic cow man. He came into Wisconsin with a famous colony of dairymen from the home of the original, famous American cheese of Herkimer County. He and his associates in Bear Valley, Richland County, built, we believe, the first cheese factory in Wisconsin. Elder Loomis was an oracle in these matters, as on Gospel points. It is a severe test of a preacher's ability when he can lay aside the weekday overalls and put on his black coat on Sunday and command an audience and hold the Sunday respect of his fellow laborers with whom he worked in the corn field, in the harvest field, and, when need be, at the tail of a threshing machine. Such was Elder Loomis, whose comradeship the Editor of UNITY and latterly UNITY itself have enjoyed for nearly forty years.

Several years ago, when the "fires began to burn low," he asked and gladly received a promise on the part of the writer of this note that when the earthly end came, if the Editor survived and circumstances permitted, he would speak the last word by the grave-side.

Last summer word came to Tower Hill to the writer that the "second stroke" had come, and Elder Loomis craved a visit. He had something he wanted to say, and the familiar ride of sixteen miles was taken. The body was weak, the tongue was crippled, speech came broken and inarticulate, but he had a message for the Editor of UNITY. Was it concerning his own personal interests past, present or prospective, was it a thought of heaven or hell in the beyond? No, though of the future life he had great assurance. As might have been expected, he was still brooding upon the interests of those whose rights he had championed through his long life. He was anxious that the next thing should be done to save the vantage-ground gained and to carry the work forward in the interests of the colored man. He said: "It is my last request. Do what you can through UNITY and otherwise to give to the colored man his next opening. Africa awaits missionaries and school masters, the colored men, educated and trained in democracy, are the natural missionaries for African schools. I never believed in colonization, that was a foolish dream always, but the trained men with color in the skin should be the chosen men to lift their fellows who have received their color from the sun that shines on Africa." He said: "I know not what the highest diplomatic position at the disposal of the United States in Africa would be, but that position ought to be filled by Booker T. Washington. The work at Tuskegee is assured, others will carry that on. Give Washington a chance to lead the forces in education and justice among his people in the rising continent, and let the Stars and Stripes float over them there. Let the United States, that has been so untrue in these last years to its high baptism of blood in the interests of the slave, redeem itself." Something like this was the message which he called the Editor across the prairies to receive. Words often choked him, the thought stirred his heart too profoundly and the tears interfered, but it was a scene never to be forgotten and a message not to be slighted.

We greatly regret that circumstances will not permit the Editor of UNITY to fulfill the pledge that would give him a chance to say something like this to the multitude gathered around the grave of Elder Loomis in the beautiful Bear Creek Valley on the "tomorrow" of the date of this writing, Tuesday, February 27. Missing the privilege of saying it, we avail ourselves of the opportunity of writing this tribute of love and praise, this word of appreciation. This story has a message and a memorial testimonial that should carry far beyond the wide circle of personal acquaintance. "Father Loomis's" parish had no boundaries, and this memorial word ought to carry a lesson to the outermost rim of UNITY's bailiwick.

THE PULPIT

Johnson of California

BY WILLIAM KENT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE SECOND CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

For that the leaders took the lead in Israel, bless ye the Lord.

There has been a political revolution in California, a complete overturning, that has not only driven from power the former masters of the State, but has fundamentally changed the structure of State government.

A great majority of the people of California, a thoughtful, resourceful, educated people, believe that the changes were necessary. It is the common belief that in a reversion from a so-called system of representative government to one more directly popular we have adopted the only means to rest the control of government in the consent of the governed.

The strong man who led in bringing about the changes has, by reason of his overwhelming success, challenged the attention of the Nation. Judged by the accomplishment of a few short months, he ranks as one of the most efficient executives in the history of our country.

The State had long been owned, operated, and looted by the Southern Pacific Railroad. A complicated system of representative government, so called, permitted control of nominations of all elective officers by the use of money and the concentration of influence previously acquired. Executive, legislative, and judicial positions were filled by tools of the great corporation or by men regarded as "safe." To the "checks and balances" of the corporation were added the checks and balances of a system so involved that the people could not select their nominees or manage them when elected. Nor could they secure the laws they wanted. Of course the railways did not elect all of the officials. There was always a fighting minority who obtained position either in spite of railway opposition or who were elected and afterward found to be "unsafe." They usually met with a "railroad recall" when next they ran for office.

William F. Herrin, in later years counsel for the Southern Pacific, passed upon candidates for office and upon matters of legislation. The brazen impudence of the situation was intolerable. The San Francisco graft cases furnished the last touch of insult and infamy. Along the trail of the defense of the bribing, boodling public utility corporations of San Francisco stalked the thugs, the corrupting attorneys, the jury-bribing squad, of the Southern Pacific, for they were linked in mutual interest in the banking purlieus of Wall Street. The lion protected the jackalls, for there was meat for all.

As a culmination of piffling court decisions, perjury, jury-bribing, dynamiting, and kidnaping, aimed to clear the guilty, Frank Heney was shot in the courtroom, and Hiram Johnson took his place and landed Ruef, tool of the Southern Pacific Railroad and the affiliated villainies, for a term of fourteen years in the penitentiary.

As a result of the state-wide prominence thus gained, Johnson was selected by the Progressive element of the Republican party to lead a forlorn hope for the redemption of California. He could ill afford the

commission, for it meant great loss to a growing law practice, and an apparently unjustifiable expenditure of time and money. The appeal to his patriotism carried the day, and he did not "resist the draft."

The committee that selected him knew him as a citizen of character, as possessing great personal charm, as a remarkably effective public speaker, endowed with the sort of steel-wire constitution that California can furnish its sons. No one worried much as to his success as a Governor. A candidate was wanted, a man who could fight, and then, if elected, would be sure to be on the public side, brave and unpurchasable.

In a primary contest of five months, covering a State over eight hundred miles long and more than two hundred and fifty wide, he gave proof of vigor of mind and body that was extraordinary. He emerged the Republican nominee, and then came the campaign for election, lasting nearly three months The whole power of the old gang was thrown to his Democratic opponent. He was fought by every means known to the desperadoes of politics; election day found him successful. The forlorn hope had scaled the redoubt.

Throughout the campaign he had stuck to one issue, the need of "kicking the Southern Pacific Railroad out of State politics." The cloistered student of civics would have deplored the lack of constructive suggestion in his speeches, but Johnson was making a fight for one definite thing, without which no other thing could be accomplished.

One of his opponents at the primaries, a popular man who was said to possess "the finest bar-room manners in California," made a brief speech—practically his only speech—in which he said, "The Southern Pacific does not own me, but, if elected Governor, I shall not tear up rails with my teeth." The parody was apt in a shallow sense, but the people wanted the "rails torn up by the Governor's teeth" if there were no way of keeping them to their legitimate uses.

Much happened in the brief period between the election and the inauguration. The Progressive Republicans had captured the political machinery of the State, and set about to ascertain how it could be operated for the public welfare. The personnel of the Legislature had been greatly changed for the better, and the new men of uncertain tendencies felt the drift.

Committees were appointed of dependable members of the Legislature and citizens who possessed technical knowledge and a public sense, to draft legislation. The Governor-elect had an interval in which to study the situation to determine policies and to scheme not only how to kick the Southern Pacific out of the Government of California, but "how to make it stay kicked."

When the Lincoln-Roosevelt League chose Johnson of San Francisco as the candidate for Governor, the southern part of the State selected Wallace for Lieutenant-Governor. No better selection could have been made. A man of calm judgment, the right inspiration, and inflexible purpose, he would have, as presiding officer of the State Senate, the power of appointing the committees of that body.

Johnson had hardly been elected before he was besieged by politicians, by "business men," and by friends to retain in office many of those who had participated in the old order of things. He had but one reply to make, "They must go," and they went.

Certain officials had resigned and had secured reappointment for a four-year term before Governor Gillette left the office to his successor. They were asked to resign some more, and, as they refused, Johnson asked the Legislature to abolish their jobs; and they, too, went.

There was nothing perfunctory or half-hearted about the performance—the Southern Pacific was kicked out of the State Government.

Will it stay kicked? We shall see.

When the Legislature met, there was great question as to the programme it should adopt. There were able representatives of the old machine, skilled in dilatory tactics and the intricacies of parliamentary law. These could be counted on to block all constructive work by endless sophistry and to find pigeonholes for every meritorious measure.

There had been a preliminary meeting held to which the Progressive Senators had been invited. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor met with them, and together they outlined a course of procedure. Then the Legislature assembled, and at its beginning Governor Johnson delivered his inaugural address. This was a clear-cut outline of his views of the needs of the State. It was a statement representing real leadership. The dominant note that ran through it was a desire to make the Government of California responsive and responsible to the people.

The first bold sentences called for the elimination of every private interest from the Government—not only that the "Southern Pacific should be kicked out of politics," but that every other private interest should cease to be represented in popular government:

"In some form or other nearly every governmental problem that involves the health, the happiness, or the prosperity of the State has arisen because some private interest has intervened or has sought for its own gain to exploit either the resources or the politics of the State. I take it, therefore, that the first duty that is mine to perform is to eliminate every private interest from the Government, and to make the public service of the State responsive solely to the people."

In calling for efficient control of the railway companies and other public utilities, he said:

"I beg of you not to permit the bogie man of the railroad companies, 'Unconstitutionality,' to deter you from enacting the legislation suggested, if you believe that legislation to be necessary; and I trust that none of us will be terrified by the threat of resort to the courts that follows the instant a railroad extortion is resented or attempted to be remedied. Let us do our full duty, now that at last we have a Railroad Commission that will do its full duty, and let us give this Commission all the power and aid and resources it requires; and if thereafter legitimate work done within the law and the Constitution shall be nullified, let the consequences rest with the nullifying power."

To many orthodox legal brethren those last sentences may seem sinister. But California has been too long a sufferer from railway opinions rendered by railway judges to be in tolerant mood toward more decisions of the same sort.

The Governor advocated as direct and as non-partisan a primary law as could be conceived. He further came out boldly for the so-called Oregon plan of

directly selecting United States Senators, the Constitution of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding:

"Of course the Constitution of the United States requires that United States Senators shall be elected by State Legislatures. Notwithstanding the popular demand expressed now for a quarter of a century that United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people, we have been unable to amend the Federal Constitution; but the people in more than half the States are striving to effect the same result by indirection. . . .

"I suggest to you, therefore, that the present law be amended so that there be a State-wide advisory vote upon United States Senator; and the logical result of a desire to elect United States Senators by direct vote of the people is that that election shall be of any person who may be a candidate, no matter what party he may be affiliated with."

The next recommendation was to shorten the ballot, to fill more offices by appointment and fewer by election, for he perceived that, although the people may be reasonably supposed to have opinions concerning a few chief officials, and also concerning important legislative measures, they cannot be expected to write a volume entitled "Who's Who in California" on their ballots at every election.

The Governor called for the restoration of the Australian ballot, free from either the party circle or the party column. He called for a non-partisan selection of the judiciary, not only at the election, but also at the primaries.

Another call was to grant to counties the right of home rule under a charter, to the end that counties, if they chose, might rule themselves as do the cities, thereby relieving the Legislature of vexatious questions in matters where uniform laws could not possibly fit the differing physical conditions of a State of such variety of produce and climate.

He recommended legislation that would result in classifying the remaining common resources of the State, especially the water power, to the end of securing adequate control of future grants and reversion if claims already made were not properly held.

He called for prison reform, especially for a reformatory for first offenders.

With these constructive suggestions all good citizens must agree. The requests that show the course of democratic progress away from the burdensome complexities that infest our representative system, toward rule by the people, lay in his formulation of the request long made by the people of the State for initiative, referendum, and the recall. It is obvious to any one who believes in the shortened ballot and in an efficient and responsible system of government that, lacking control by the people subsequent to election, such a system of government may be nothing less than an elective despotism. The spectacle is all too common of officials sure of a fixed term who brazenly defy the people who elected them, in the knowledge that their tenure of office is secure and that their acts are not subject to popular revision. For this reason, driven by the cold logic of facts, Governor Johnson advocated the referendum and the recall, and suggested that the right of recall embrace all elective officials, including the judges. After all, the referendum and the recall are but obvious and necessary checks in a representative system. The initiative seems in some of its aspects a much more radical departure, permitting, as it does, the people to formulate and to pass their own laws should the Legislature refuse to comply with their expressed desires.

Governor Johnson's concluding paragraph was a complete repudiation of irrelevant partisanship. To quote:

"The hope of governmental accomplishment for progress and purity politically is with us in this new era. This hope and wish for accomplishment for the supremacy of the right and its maintenance I believe to be with every member of the Legislature. It is in no partisan spirit that I appeal to you for aid. Democrats and Republicans alike are citizens, and equal patriotism is in each. Your aid, your comfort, your highest resolve and endeavor, I bespeak, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as representatives of all the people of all classes and political affiliations, as patriots indeed for the advancement and progress and righteousness and uplift of California.

"And may God in his mercy grant us the strength and the courage to do the right!"

This address cleared the air and caused an immediate union of right-minded and progressive men of both parties. Lieutenant-Governor Wallace, as before stated, had the power to select the Senate Committees. The organization of the House was effected by the better element after a few preliminary skirmishes in which the old machine forces were routed. The pigeonholes were effectually plugged, and the Legislature settled down to do the business of the State, for which it was elected and to which, by the platform of both parties, it was pledged.

Johnson promptly squelched a proposed act making the Governor eligible for the Senatorship during his term of office. The committees of legislators and citizens appointed before the session reported to the regular committees their recommendations. All men and all measures received a respectful hearing.

I have seen many legislative bodies, but none more impressive by reason of its sense of responsibility, its eagerness to do right and justice, its willingness to work to the limit of human endurance. With infinite tact the Governor propounded his constructive suggestions. He made no threats and promised no patronage, but to members collectively and to individuals he pointed out the needs of the State and the logic of the situation. Each Senator and Assemblyman was made to realize that he was an important factor in the new era and would receive full credit for his share in the work. From that time on the essential features of the programme were certain of being carried out.

In the selection of a United States Senator, the Democrats not having suggested names at the State-wide primary and the Republicans being in the majority, the Progressives of both parties united in the selection of Judge Works, who, campaigning with Johnson and standing on the same platform, had received the largest popular vote.

At the close of the session the Legislature and the Governor could claim with pride that every pledge had been carried out.

It would show a gross sense of disproportion if the credit for this work were attributed to the Governor alone. He came into a heritage of clear-cut, bold, democratic, and non-partisan ideals. Many States

have wrestled with the problems of proper control and management of State institutions. The ideals of civil service reform came as a matter of course with the elimination of partisanship. The great qualities of leadership were shown in his ability to merge these policies into a coherent scheme and then by clear thinking and plain expression to give to others an appreciation of what it all meant; and, most important of all, he showed a peculiar capacity to infuse his own moral enthusiasm into the task and to make others realize that they bore an equally responsible part in working for the common welfare.

As an executive the Governor had remorselessly carried out his programme of "kicking the Southern Pacific and other private interests out of the Government of the State." He rallied to his support our best citizenship, and found little difficulty in substituting, in the numerous commissions that formerly had butchered the public service, citizens with high ideals. These appointees were not confined to members of the Republican party. A roster of names of those taking these great responsibilities includes a large proportion of the men most distinguished by reason of public spirit and public service.

Among the bills passed by the Legislature were those to provide effective regulation of public utilities; the Oregon plan for electing United States Senators; the amendment to the direct primary law; the Australian ballot; the short ballot; a judiciary selected at the primaries as non-partisan and elected as non-partisan; home rule for counties; Conservation legislation; prison reform, beginning with a reformatory for first offenders, and providing, in the face of opposition at first made by union labor but subsequently abandoned, for the manufacture in the prisons of any articles used by the public institutions of the State; amendments and improvements to the Employer's Liability Act; and an eight-hour law for women.

The Legislature further propounded amendments to the State Constitution embodying initiative, referendum, and recall, the strengthening of the powers of the railway commission, and woman's suffrage.

Soon after the close of the legislative session began the campaign for the Constitutional amendments. The Governor confined his speaking to the indorsement of the initiative, referendum, and recall, and to the railway commission amendment, feeling that these measures were essential to the programme, without which the work previously accomplished would but create an elective despotism. He refrained from taking part in the struggle for woman's suffrage, although firmly believing in it as a part of democratic progress.

Heney joined in, as another leader, in this campaign, and every part of the State heard from one or both of these remarkable men. Of course the hottest fight centered on the recall of the judiciary, which was fought by the legal quibble that somehow or in some way the courts were beyond and above the people, and that the people should be compelled to obey the interpretation of their own laws, however those laws might be construed, by judges responsible to no one.

The arguments of the advocates of these amendments must have had weight when judged by the result of the election. In a vote fairly representative of the electorate the recall provision polled 178,115, the opposition 53,755—a majority of over 124,000, and, incidentally, 8,000 greater than the majority given to the initiative. It was generally conceded and shown by straw votes that the recall of the judges was the most popular phase of the amendment.

After the referendum election there was no respite in the executive office. It was necessary to call a special session to pass supplementary legislation connected with some previous legislation and with the Constitutional amendments. The question came up as to whether in this call there should be a request for a Presidential primary. Under the defective primary law which the old machine inadvertently passed, it was provided that the county committeemen elected in 1910 should select delegates to the Presidential conventions, with the obvious intention of perpetuating machine control and having the delegates selected so long before the event that they could be used for trading purposes. It was never contemplated that the political power might be seized by the Progressives, but this was the event.

Those Progressives who favored Senator La Follette found themselves able to appoint the delegation to the National Convention, and had it not been for the extra session, the delegation would have been chosen accordingly. It was optional with the Governor whether the new Republican organization should take advantage of the situation or whether he by voluntary act should endeavor to return to the people a power that ought to rest with them. The Governor had no doubt in his own mind about the course that should be pursued or the course he was going to pursue. With his mind already made up, he consulted with Senator La Follette and with others in the Progressive movement, and, strengthened in his own opinion, he inserted in the call a request for a Presidential primary, thereby clearly showing the difference between real leadership in the popular interest and boss rule and machine control. If the Republicans of California desire the renomination of President Taft, they can say so, by grace of a Governor who believes in popular government.

This suggestion is certain to be enacted into law, with the strongest recommendation and indorsement by Senator La Follette.

Other calls for the special session include an appeal to provide for the inspection, measurement, and gradation of merchandise and wares by State officers; for the amendment of the Constitution whereby free textbooks shall be furnished by the State for school children.

In personal characteristics Governor Johnson is well fitted for his task. He has remarkable charm of manner in public speech; in private conversation he is pleasant rather than urbane. He is simple, direct, and frank in expressing his views of men and measures. His most remarkable characteristic rests in the power and clearness of his mental processes. He seems capable of almost instantaneous logical conclusions, and is fearless in giving an immediate opinion, an attribute supremely requisite in a man of executive position. Despite his legal training and attainments, he has much more the attitude of an Arab sheik rendering justice offhand from under a palm tree than of a conventional "civilized" judge scraping dust and cobwebs from musty precedent before expressing an opinion. He despises formality, and refused an inaugural ball and an entourage of bespangled colonels. Prior to his inauguration a colonel on the staff of the former Gov-

ernor clicked his heels before him in a hotel lobby and asked for his command. His reply was, "I think you had better report to Colonel Forbes," who happened to be the head of the State militia.

By reason of having an abiding belief in government by the people, fortified by a confidence in the essential soundness of popular decision, despising and ridiculing the fearsome bogie, the "clamor of the mob," he makes few mistakes either in men or in measures. If we can find one word that better describes him than any other one word, I should say it would be to call him "adequate." As a candidate he seized upon the salient issue, that of kicking the Southern Pacific out of the politics of the State. Successful in that contest, the next problem that confronted him was to keep the Southern Pacific and the affiliated interests kicked out of the Government of the State. The only thing to do and the right thing to do was to empower those interested, the people, to do that work. He keenly realized that the complicated system of representation, with its machinery and its checks and balances, removed the voter so far from his candidate and so far from his legislation and so far from the judicial determination of what that legislation meant, that power must revert to the voter or he would be lost in the tangle and robbed at leisure by those who dispensed the "checks and balances" of greedy capital and special privilege.

He had no technical knowledge of the State institutions. He made no pleas for civil service reform in the days of his campaigning. He trusted in his ability to meet situations as they rose with calm self-possession and confidence. From the day of his inauguration to the present time he has been indefatigable in working along the conventional line of honest and efficient government, and has supplemented this in pushing through the measures whereby the people can defend themselves against aggression. There is no better example of the difference between boss rule and real leadership. It would seem that for executive purposes his is a better type of mind than that of the philosopher who indulges in speculation and generalities. Hiram Johnson is not a prophet because he has not taken up the prophet business, but he is an executive official who embodies the dictum:

"For the thing-to-be-done does not tarry the will of the Doer,
But the Doer must be at the beck of the thing-to-be-done."

And the thing-to-be-done, with Johnson, is not shrouded in mist or doubt.

At a meeting of the Bar Association held at Sacramento in November the eminent gentlemen there present spent much of their time bewailing what they termed California's "overturning of the Constitution." California regularly overturns its State Constitution at every election wherein amendments are considered, for such amendments, having been recommended by the Legislature, are passed by a majority vote. Somehow the Federal Constitution, however it may have been interpreted or misinterpreted, understood or misunderstood, by the Supreme Court, is considered something too sacred to criticise.

After a session in which the recall of judges was duly deplored, Johnson was called upon to speak. The extemporaneous remarks he made were brilliant in satire and couched in a style strongly reminding one of those that confront some of the older States, but in Demosthenes. His introductory remarks were:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Bar: I come to you this morning as one of the submerged four-fifths of the State of California, one of those, you know, with whom you have been sympathizing the last few days and concerning whom, as I observe from public prints, and that alone, you have expressed during the last few days in your deliberations so much concern and so much regard. I observe that in your deliberations as a bar association in the past few days you have expressed yourselves, of course, with that freedom that always should punctuate the remarks of members of the bar. And I observe, with that peculiar facility and fecundity of expression that belongs to members of the bar, you have, in respect to matters that are alive and have not been passed upon in the State of California, been continuing your debates. I am thankful to you, as a member of the submerged four-fifths of this State, that you, the remaining fifth, who, of course, can direct the other four-fifths better than they can direct themselves, should have expressed your sympathy for what we have done in the State and for those things that we have endeavored to carry on, and that you should have devoted your gigantic efforts as a bar association and as members of a great profession to pointing out the evil that this poor, submerged four-fifths people of the State of California have done in the State of California, and have bewailed and bemoaned that which may have been done by them in the past and what may be done in the future, and that you have told us the error of our ways. And we are obliged to you for it. But may I suggest to you, my brethren of the bar, that you dry your tears and iron out your lugubrious countenances, that you take your wigs and that you take the bones of your old traditions and put them in your legal bags, and that you turn around and face forward as you ought to do in the State of California, and go forward upon the broad political highway of freedom in the State of California?"

This was followed by an appeal to the members of his profession to use their influence and offer their advice in the great constructive programme lying before the State. His logic was so unerring, his appeal so direct and persuasive, that the Bar Association at the close of his talk passed the following resolutions:

Resolved: First, that the California Bar Association pledges itself and all its instrumentalities, to the best of our ability, to serve the Governor of the State of California and the administration of the State in all of the matters in which the Governor of this State has at this time asked our service;

Second, that the address of the Governor of this State be printed and a copy of it furnished at the earliest available opportunity to each section and to each committee of this body which is or may be charged with any duty in respect of the first sub-division of this resolution.

Third, that the incoming President of this association be, and he is hereby, given full power to aid in such work by the appointment of such further committees or instrumentalities as to him may seem suitable in the premises.

California is far from the center of population. Judging by the Census, it is not a big State. The problems that confront Governor Johnson are perhaps simpler, or at least expressed in simpler terms, than

the history of the Legislature of 1911 and in the inaugural message and some of the other speeches of the Governor can be found, in my judgment, the clearest exposition of State needs and the treatment of those needs that is to be found in all political literature.

There were developed in this country several forms of government—municipal, State, and National. The cities first took up the fight against privilege, and more and more are emerging into the light of responsive, responsible, centralized, and efficient government, with popular rather than constitutional checks.

Under the Roosevelt Administration the Federal Govvernment grew more representative of the welfare of the average man, and there was a strong movement toward strengthening Federal authority at the expense of the States. But the Federal Government is too overburdened with National problems to do justice to the detailed needs of the States. Just as in California the State wishes to furnish to the counties all possible powers of local self-government and insists that the counties shall be responsible and not neglected, so the people of the several States may not lean back on the Federal Government in asking for regulation of matters near at hand and of vital interest to the individual State, but must see to it that the State governments are conducted for the welfare of their present and future citizens.

With the elimination of the selection of the United States Senators from the State Legislatures there will pass the last vestige of excuse for National partisanship in the State's business. There will come a new alignment in the choice between progress and reaction, between conservation and exploitation, between the welfare of the many and the privilege of the few.

We of California, for the first time in many years, are proud of our humanly organized State. We hope that the country will pardon a shifting of our boastfulness from the biggest trees and the biggest pumpkins to our claim that we have the best of the State governments.

—*Reprinted from The Outlook.*

Lloyd George—"The Architect of a New England"

When Britain's great scheme of national insurance against sickness and unemployment received the royal assent recently, David Lloyd George added to his record, observes the liberal London *News,* the most far-reaching legislative achievement of our time. In the light of that event it seems possible to our contemporary to take stock of the amazing career which "from such small beginnings has become the architect of a new England." For whether one likes David Lloyd George or whether one fears the man, insists this champion of his policies, that is the part which destiny has allotted him upon the political stage. "There are other distinguished figures in our politics, but his is the crest around which the battle rages. Wherever he is, the fortunes of the day are at stake." To exalt him or to destroy him—there to our contemporary is the whole issue of British politics not alone today but for many days to come.

The problem of the influence of personality upon politics is made fascinating, we read further in this study, by the character of Lloyd George. "When the great adventurer appears, the question always arises, did he make the events or did the events make him?" How would the great revolt in England have fared had there been no Cromwell with his Ironsides and his self-denying ordinance to sweep away the timidities of the Essexes and the Manchesters? "What would have happened to the United States had there been no Lincoln, with his pathos and his jest, to keep the soul of the North stable through the dark hour? What would have been the history of France if the great spirit of Danton had not been extinguished on the scaffold?" What, indeed, might not the history of England have been, asks our contemporary again, if Gladstone had suppressed his distrust of Joseph Chamberlain and made terms with him some twenty-five years ago? At any rate, concludes this student of the personality now dominant in Britain, it was the terrific political convulsion of 1906 that made David Lloyd George. It certainly gave him his opportunity. The career of the man needed its background and that background was afforded by a formless and vague revolt against existing conditions. The great London organ of Liberalism sketches in these terms the outline of the huge political shadow against which the figure of Lloyd George reveals itself like a lightning flash against a cloud:

"It was for the Government to give direction and shape to that revolt. If it could not do so then Liberalism had failed and Protection would be the mold into which the future would run. For three years it seemed that the opportunity had been lost. It is true that great things were accomplished. South Africa was founded and Old-Age Pensions were granted. But we had opened up no new horizons. We were still in the old prison and the Lords held the key of the gate. The country was turning against us. We were beginning to calculate when the election would come and by how much we should lose. Mr. Chamberlain had made his bid. For the moment he had failed, but if his bid remained without challenge, if we could offer no alternative policy, then his victory was assured. It was the moment for a great adventure. If the Liberal party was to save its life it must be ready to lose it and with the instinct of the great strategist Mr. Lloyd George seized on the vulnerable point in the enemy's defences and staked everything on the throw. He attacked the land monopoly. It was a bold stroke. It brought him into conflict with powerful interests in his own party. A formidable cave of Liberal landed magnates threatened him. Journalistic fainthearts appealed to him to withdraw the land clauses of his Budget. 'If they go I go,' was his attitude. And the Prime Minister stood by him like a rock. The triumph was complete. The Liberal cause was rehabilitated, the land monopoly received its first check and out of the struggle came the defeat of the House of Lords."

Now in this case, or the London daily is much in error, personality certainly controlled events. "The country was at the parting of the ways, but its direction was doubtful. Already it seemed to be turning not confidently but in despair of liberalism to protection." But for that dramatic stroke of Lloyd George's with the budget of three years ago there is small doubt that Britain would today be celebrating the establishment of a tariff instead of the passing of the famous insurance bill. And it is this combination of imagination and of courage which to our contemporary renders Mr.

Lloyd George so formidable a figure in his country's politics.

His eye, it tells us, ranges over wide horizons. He sees the future with the literalism with which the general sees the battlefield. "He calculates forces and possibilities as another man calculates his profits and losses, and, having decided on his line of attack, no fear or hesitation palsies the ardor of the onset." Referring to Joseph Chamberlain's sincerity in advocating protective tariffs for his country, a brother of that statesman said once that "Rupert never rides but to conquer or to fall," and today a Rupert is abroad in England again—only his name now is David Lloyd George. "He never rides but to conquer or to fall. It is this comradeship of high-soaring courage that explains Lloyd George's well known admiration for Joseph Chamberlain." Had that elder statesman not been driven out of the Liberal party, according to Lloyd George himself, there would have been nothing left for the Liberals to do in England now. He would have settled the land and the Lords and the social question, using the latter term in the individualist sense. One wonders in that event, observes the London *News*, what would have been the task of this restless, energetic David Lloyd George.

This keynote of courage, it reminds us, has sounded throughout his career from the days when the village schoolboy led his fellows in revolt against the catechism. The greater the odds against him the higher rises his spirit. "What will you do if Mr. Gladstone will not give us disestablishment?" he was asked in his first campaign. The retort came swiftly in the words of Lloyd George's favorite hero, Cromwell: "If I met the King in battle I would fire my pistol at him."

Although Lloyd George shares the adventurous spirit of Chamberlain, his method is different. He bears no enmities. "When he has cut you down with his sword he will pick you up with his smile. He carries himself with a boyish gaiety that is irresistible. There is no such companion at the table, or on the links, or in the smoking-room." His talk flashes from grave to gay with swift, prismatic changes—now a snatch of a sermon, then a phrase of Welsh poetry, now a joke, then a story—and if you are very lucky he will give you a nigger song that he has learned from some minstrel. His talk all comes straight from life. If he speaks about books, it is only as lamps for the present. An intimate friend who supplies these personal details to the London *News* found him once full, very full, of Ferrero's "Greatness and Decline of Rome," but Caesar and Pompey, Brutus and Cicero and the rest appealed to him only as parallels to the men on the stage of British politics today. This personal friend declines to reveal who in the judgment of Lloyd George is the Caesar or the Cicero or the Brutus of Britain now.

This intense interest in the actual world, adds this friend of Lloyd George, is the source of the statesman's vivacity and freshness. "Whether right or wrong, he is always giving you life at first hand. He does not see things through the spectacles of theorists or the formulas of parties but with his own eyes." He has no abstractions. His ideas are flesh and blood. It is as though he has come into the world from another sphere and sees it all anew. No man ever rose to so high a power and responsibility with so light a burden from the past, with such an entire freedom from the academic, with such an entire reliance upon the immediate teaching of life. "All his lessons, like his talk, come straight from the mint of experience. Thus, speaking of the perils of the poor from insolvent benefit societies, he will tell you how when a boy he used to take his uncle's shilling a week to the benefit society." When that uncle fell ill the society had failed.

In this nearness to the life of the poor, this champion of Lloyd George discovers the mainspring of his political action. He came from the people and his heart remains with the people. "That, in the absence of theory and scholasticism, is the compass which will keep his course true—that and the touch of imagination and poetry that gives wings to his purposes and range to his vision." He is thus the portent of the new time—the man of the people in the seat of power. He has no precedent, concedes this authority, in all the political annals of Britain. "Our politics have been governed by men who have studied the life of the people as others have studied the life of ants or bees—objectively, remotely. Even Bright, Cobden, Chamberlain, were not of the people. They were of the middle class and knew the poor as the instruments of the great employer." David Lloyd George, like John Burns, comes out of the great hive of humanity itself. In him democracy has found its voice and to him, predicts our contemporary, it will be loyal as long as he remembers.

And David Lloyd George, we are told by this student of him, does remember. He remembers his humble origin and the trials of the poor among whom he was brought up. On the day he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, he left the House of Commons with a friend of his boyhood, one as poor and as obscure as he had once been. As they talked of his advancement David Lloyd George said: "In all my career I do not remember a hand being held out to me from above and a voice saying: 'Dring i fyny yma' (Come up higher, climb thou up here). But don't misunderstand me," he went on, "there have been thousands of hands which have pushed me up from behind." The answering laugh told how this shot had hit the mark.

David Lloyd George does not forget those hands, adds his friend. He does not forget the source from which comes his eminence and his place of power. "There have been times when one has feared—times when his light anchorage seemed in danger of yielding to the impact of opportunism. But that memory of his own people, that loyalty to the inspiration of the mountains and the simple traditions of his fathers has saved him and will save him." However much the glitter of the great world delights him, his heart, untraveled, always turns back to the village between the mountains and the sea. On the day of the memorial service to the late Marquis of Ripon, as David Lloyd George left the Westminster Cathedral with a colleague, he talked of the splendor of the ceremony. His companion remarked laughingly: "When you die we'll give you a funeral like that." "No; you won't," came the swift and almost passionate retort of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. "When I die you will lay me in the shadow of the mountains."—*Current Literature.*

PUBLISHED WEEKLY **UNITY** ESTABLISHED 1878

The Unity Publishing Company
Abraham Lincoln Centre
$2.00 PER ANNUM

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"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under act of March 3, 1879."

THE FIELD

"The World is my Country, to do good is my Religion."

CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION

In harmony with the policy of the National Child Labor Committee to give special emphasis to some one phase of the subject each year, the eighth annual conference just held at Louisville, Ky., was given over to Child Labor and Education. A number of prominent educators were invited from various parts of the country.

It was the idea of the committee to refrain from any general criticism on the educational methods now in vogue in America, permitting such criticism to come from educators. At the same time it was deemed important that it should be called to the attention of educators throughout the country that a solution of the child labor problem is impossible without substantial reformation and improvement of school methods and curricula. The frankness and optimism with which educators treated the subject were stimulating. No attempt was made to disguise the fact that educational methods appropriate 100 years ago are no longer fitted to the needs of our civilization. At the same time, the quiet revolution with which public and private schools throughout the country are lopping off obsolete customs and incorporating new branches of work give evidence that the schools are not behind in the new view of social responsibility.

At the first meeting Superintendent Holland of the Louisville schools stated:

American educators are awakening to the needs of factory boys and girls; such continuation schools for working children between fourteen and sixteen years should be established in every city, and the children should be required to attend from four to eight hours a week. To strengthen the foundations of our democracy, the working class must be reinforced by workers better trained than their fathers, intelligent, possessed of industrial skill, and not lacking in steadiness or sobriety. The old American school system is inadequate for present needs and must give cate its own children; hence it is wise for the states to be charged with this way to a more modern one. We permit the exploitation of children even before adolescence in Southern mills, although we would deal summarily with anyone caught beating a child in the street; yet the results of the former treatment are worse. We must arrange a campaign of education in behalf of Southern working children, so that they may have an industrial opportunity such as is granted to the children of Germany.

Dr. Adler declared that while the needs of Southern children are great, nevertheless the problem of child labor is national in its scope, for it is an evil that pervades all parts of our country.

The importance of finding profitable occupations for children, of making it possible for them to "work instead of being worked," was almost unanimously urged. Superintendent Pearse said:

Children need training in hand work so as to develop resourcefulness. Girls should acquire the varied elementary household arts. When parents realize that the school meets the real needs of their children, then we shall keep in the schools all that class of children now anxious to get away as soon as the law allows. Children who complete the elementary schools must be given the opportunity for vocational education. Proper child labor under the guidance of wise parents is good for children, but this is so rarely found that we have been obliged to pass laws for the protection of children from exploitation by both parents and employers. Therefore the school must teach children how to work under proper conditions, as a part of a sound and rounded education.

Federal Aid to Education was the topic of the annual address of the chairman, Dr. Felix Adler, and was discussed also by Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, vice-chairman of the committee. Dr. Adler said in part:

If it is the object of our nation to build up American civilization, then it is its concern to educate and train every child. There is nothing so educative as the responsibility of each state to eduduty. But if any state is incapable of performing this duty, then the nation must aid it. The United States census of 1910 shows that there are more than six million illiterate persons in our country. We cannot expect the South unaided to fulfill this duty of education, because of its heavy burdens and lack of means. We must spend more than ever before for education, so as to give the children the benefit of special training, such as industrial and agricultural education. Can we not love our schools as Germany loves its army and navy, by supporting them with hundreds of millions of dollars?

Dr. Lindsay pointed to the fact that our public school system in America is not equally distributed to those who need it, because while the larger part of the funds is raised through local taxation the system militates against the interest of the child in the poorer section. In the United States only about 3 per cent of school funds is from state sources, in England more than 62 per cent. He urged that the federal government should do its share toward the support of the common school and that its share is ten times greater than the amount now contributed, and said:

The constitution of the United States provides specifically for the common welfare, and as education is certainly for the common welfare there should be established in this country a national board of education, having administrative control of the funds provided for the schools, and which would stimulate the progress of education in this country as no other one agency could possibly do.

In line with this suggestion for more aid to education, Prof. W. H. Hand, high school inspector of South Carolina, presented tables of illiteracy taken from official sources which showed that over 300,700 native white males of voting age in the Southern states are illiterate. This is 12.2 per cent of the total number. As to the need for compulsory education in the South he said:

The South could once boast of an aristocracy capable, broad-minded, and highly trained—in the language of Henry W. Grady, "almost feudal in its grandeur." The conditions conducive to such a society have been swept away, and the South today is pre-eminently the land where training and fitness of the masses are indispensable.

He called attention to the fact that although the ablest and safest leaders of the South have been tireless in their efforts for the past twenty years to get the children into schools, more than 25 per cent of the native white children between the ages of ten and fourteen are in no school at all.

He declared that the poor child is the very one who most needs the aid of the state to bring him into possession of his own.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the National Consumers' League, urged part-time compulsory schooling for all minors above sixteen years. He suggested as an important measure that evening schools for minors between seventeen and twenty-one years should be provided, to give them training at least in civics and hygiene, two or three evenings a week.—*Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary National Child Labor Committee, in the Survey.*

(To be continued.)

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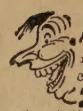

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